000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see
also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's
575 clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are
no special women's houses.

2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a
people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi,
probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force
available to the parents and the better are the prospects of
obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be
married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of
[832] herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359).
As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is
particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the
husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove
the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (kukorora) is
induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions
made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret
science among the women, and the men do not appear to have
any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[673] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [110] by the head
man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in
Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions
is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
854 have as many children as possible. One frequently sees fathers
tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

How many unfortunate people payed with their lives for having been falsely accused of such supposed misdeeds!

789 The use of charms to win the good graces of Europeans survived
648 only by a few years the use of the above-mentioned poisons. When the latter were tagged as ineffective /to Europeans/, or at least dangerous in their consequences, charms (inzaratsi) were resorted to. The makers of charms, called by the generic name of Abanyamihango, "men of the traditions," exercise a vocation which is regarded as lucrative and honorable as long as the professionals do not overstep the limits of their art.

Public opinion indeed accuses them, most probably wrongly, of deceiving people and giving them poison instead of inoffensive charms. Women, especially, resort to their art and use their powders
832 to draw upon themselves the attention and favors of an unfaithful
278 or forgetful husband. Sorcerers in this category use for this purpose
[824] the following plants and shrubs: umukunde, which bears the evocative name of "tree of love," umutanga, umugobora, umukeri, a kind of wild bramble, nkurimonga, umuhire, bufyoher' imfizi, that is, "the plant that suits the taste of bulls," etc. The makers of philters take the bark, leaves, or roots of those plants and dry them in the sun. The whole thing is crushed and reduced to powder. One need only put a little of this powder into beer or butter, or else /490/ rub it onto a stick or spear, to obtain the desired effect. The neglected wife who manages to make her husband drink this beer will inevitably regain
[302] first place in his heart. The result is the same if the husband anoints his limbs and body with the butter containing the precious powder.

789 The use of a walking stick or the bearing of a spear rubbed
648 with one of those powders will bring good luck to the owner. His words and requests will all be accepted, and those he addresses will be unable to do him any harm.

This is why the king and court dignitaries attempted in their turn to use this simple and effective means of winning over the hearts of the Europeans and of swaying them toward their own needs and

323 making baskets, thus forming the lower part of the pot. The rolls of clay are pressed together inside and out, and when the lower part of the pot is formed, additional spirals are added and pressed together. The procedure is continued to the upper edge of the pot or the neck of the jug, the spiral rolls still being recognizable. When it is finished thus far, [154] the pot is dipped in water and smoothed out with a piece of gourd until the rolls disappear. The upper edges are worked over with special care. They are carefully smoothed with a wet leaf (Acanthus arboreus) while the pot is rotated on the sherd. The ornamentation is also added while the pot is rotated, though much more slowly. A cylinder of plaited grass is rolled against the sides of the pot to make the primitive [531] decorations. Geometrical designs are also applied.

The pots made in this way are allowed to dry for a few days and are then fired. It is said that they are fired in the pits used to warm the unripe, unfermented beer. Pots are also fired in the open where they are stacked in pyramids, packed with firewood and grass on the sides and banana stalks on top, and thus fired. The high moisture content of the banana stalks slows the burning of the wood and prolongs the entire process, which should help to keep the pots from cracking. Nevertheless, there is always a considerable residue of useless pots.

To increase the quality of the goods, it is said that crushed sherds are added to the clay.

Potters are found on every hill. In Kissaka where there are no markets, they work only to supply the needs of the immediate vicinity.

•[532] A secondary branch of pottery is the manufacture of pipes and "little love pots," tiny vessels in which the women carry their amulets which are said to guarantee them the love of their husbands. These objects are made of kneaded clay and hollowed out with special small spatulas. These two classes of objects, if [531] they are decorated at all, primarily have only linear geometrical ornamentation.

755 to the afflicted parts of the body. Since the amulets are very specialized in their effects, every illness requires a different amulet, sometimes even a different medicine man. That is why one constantly sees individuals with a dozen amulets.

There are many different types of amulets. There are, first of all, small pieces of wood decorated with little glass beads. One or two of these are worn on the bast headband. Sometimes several thin wooden cylinders with glass beads are worn on a necklace. One also sees quite a number of larger pieces of wood on a necklace. Occasionally amulets have the shape of tiny clay vessels filled with long-distance medicine. Similarly shaped are
●832 the little love pots (ingondo) which are [326] worn in large numbers by the women on their belts. They are said to guarantee the love of their husbands. The small gourds called bunuli serve the same purpose. Vessels of this kind are filled with the medicine known as isarazi.

752 Sometimes the sick person is branded with a hot iron. One often sees scars of burns on the forehead, which indicate headache treatments. In other cases incisions and bloodletting are performed.

Bloodletting (kurasha) is common in Ruanda medical practice. A vein in the forehead is chosen and blocked by means of pressure (bandaging the neck). The vein is then opened. This is done by placing an arrow or a knife on the vein and pushing it into the vein with the index finger.

When a sufficient amount of blood has been drawn off, the ligature is removed. The bleeding usually stops automatically. If it does not, the opening is stopped up with clay.

Cupping is also a favorite treatment. An antelope horn with a small opening at the point serves as a cupping glass. Air is sucked out through the opening, and the cup is sealed with fig leaves. The cupping horn is placed on the neck in the case of a headache. To increase its effectiveness, the skin is often lacerated with a knife. The cupping horn is kept on the spot until it falls off by itself. The cupping horns do not differ from those of the Dinka.

In fractures of arms or legs the bones are skillfully set and immobilized with splints (busenge).

[Text continues on p.266]

6: Czekanowski--265 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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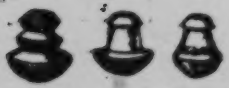

Fig. 174. Clay Containers for Amulets, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E10147.)

Fig. 175. Little Love Pots, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13087a, III E13088c, III E13086a, III E13084b.)

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Fig. 176. Love Gourd from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13119. 12 centimeters high.)

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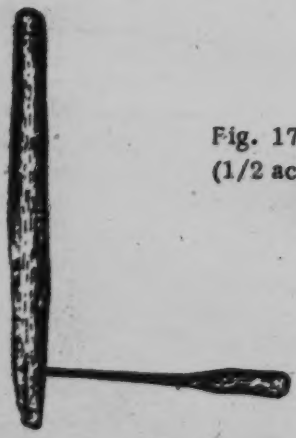

Fig. 177. Instrument for Bleeding, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. L15066.)

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Why did they not operate in the case of FaSi? As mother of Ego's paternal cross-cousins, with whom Ego could enjoy the same familiarities, she could have reacted in the same way. We have seen that, on the contrary, she was extremely cordial to her nephews. The only reason seems to be that her nephews belonged to her own lineage, whereas her daughters did not. Consequently she was less interested in bride-wealths, &c. Her husband (FaSiHu) probably reacted in the same way as MoBr. 604

The relations of Ego with his maternal aunt (MoSi) were supposed to be similar to his relations with his mother, but in fact great trust and affection did not often exist between them because of the usually tense relations of the aunt with Ego's mother, her sister. If, for instance, Ego's aunt's husband (MoSiHu) neglected his wife and preferred his sister-in-law (Ego's Mo), with whom intercourse was not taboo, the relations between the two sisters became tense. The incest taboo applied to the relations between Ego and MoSi (as an extension of the incest prohibition between Ego and his Mo) and also MoSiDa (although she did not belong to Mo's inzu). In the latter case, the reason was that for Ego, his maternal parallel cousins were assimilated to his paternal parallel cousins. He had consequently to consider her as his sister. In the next generation this incest taboo still existed (between So and MoSiDaDa, i.e. between any male and his FaMoSiDaDa). The incest between Ego's male descendants and his MoSi's female descendants through females lasted, I was told, as long as the original sibling relation (between Mo and MoSi) was remembered. 604 835 [593] 605 835

Between Ego and his maternal grandfather, the relations were very similar to those between him and his paternal grandfather. As we may expect, the fact that his maternal grandmother did not belong to the maternal patrilineage did not prevent her from being considered as a grandmother and not only as MoFaWi. 603

As has just been indicated, Ego could enjoy with his female maternal cross-cousins great familiarity expressed in practical jokes, pleasant talk, and erotic games. But as long as the girls were unmarried anything more than caressing and petting (erotic kissing seems to have been unknown among Ruanda) was prohibited. It was only after the female cross-cousins' marriages that sexual intercourse with them was tolerated. This behaviour was extended to wives of male cross-cousins (MoBrSoWi). 605 [832] [835]

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a polygamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

diverts his love to the one that administers it to him—or to look for magic that will make the husband impotent when he is with other women, every sort of vengeance is normal among the wives of a polygamist. A Tutsi polygamist would not dare to settle his wives on one property. He places them on plots as distant from each other as possible. The Hutu polygamist congratulates himself that he can put all his wives together in one house. He is not rich, hence there are no motives for hatred under his roof. In this the Rundi were not unanimous: The Hutu insist that their wives obey them without backtalk but that Tutsi wives dominate their husbands. Against this idea, the Tutsi protested perhaps too much, while the idea evoked a Mona Lisa smile from the Tutsikazi. The enquirer was unable to seek verification in the houses themselves. There was talk about Tutsi domestic tyrants and a few of them were known, but the bulk of the evidence favours the Hutu point of view.

The contrasts between men and women parallel the Tutsi-Hutu case. Women are stronger than men, but clumsy and less agile; they are less stable and are less able to hide and control their emotions; they are much given to jealousy and competition in seeking the favour of the superior; they work for their husbands; they ask gifts of them. Although women as women are without doubt inferiors, their inferiority by no means excludes the possibility that character and behaviour will be reversed when they are in the roles of superiors.

Distinctions between the sexes begin at birth and increase with maturity. A little boy wears no clothing. His sister, from the first day of her life, wears the *ubudede*, a string of beads worn around her hips, which later in her life will be added to, especially through gifts from her husband. Except for the beads, however, there is very little attention paid to sex differences in infancy. Excepting among the wealthy, introduction to economic and social responsibilities occurs very early. Children, like any inferiors, must work and must obey the instructions and commands of their superiors. Boys are in the charge of their fathers and girls of their mothers. Apprenticeship begins earlier for girls than for boys. When she is three years old, a little girl, Tutsi or Hutu, is already old enough to accompany her mother to the fields and follow her about the house. At six, she knows how to sweep the yard, do a little work with the hoe, and carry on her head a sizeable basket of beans or a large gourd of water. At the same age, her brother, particularly among the herders, begins at last his apprenticeship with his father. Among the Hutu, boys are sometimes instructed by their mother or grand-

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the